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C.I.A. Established Many L
To Journalists in U.S. and

The following article was written by John M. Crewdson and is based on reporting by him and Joseph B. Treaster.

One day several years ago, a correspondent for a large Middle Western newspaper, arriving in Belgrade, was asked by some colleagues whether he would like to meet his newspaper's local "stringer."

Knowing that his newspaper did not employ anyone in Belgrade, or so he thought, the correspondent ascended the stairs of the stringer's hotel, only to glimpse the man racing down another set of stairs on his way, he shouted, to catch an airplane for Prague.

The correspondent was puzzled, but said he learned later that the man had been an operative of the Central Intelligence Agency, fleeing to protect his "cover," and that he had obtained his press credentials directly from the newspaper's publisher.

He and the publisher had agreed to keep the matter as their secret, apparently never anticipating that one of the newspaper's legitimate correspondents might turn up unexpectedly.

That instance was but one of dozens uncovered during a three-month inquiry by The New York Times into the C.I.A.'s three decades of involvement with the communications industry at home and abroad, and especially its relationships with American journalists overseas.

In interviews with scores of past and present intelligence officers, journalists and others with knowledge of the situation, The Times checked the names of 200 individuals and organizations whom various sources identified as having possible intelligence connections.

C.I.A.: Secret Shaper Of Public Opinion
Last of Three Articles

Nearly 20 correspondents were found who said they had refused offers of employment by the agency.

But The Times also obtained the names of more than 30 American journalists who have worked since World War II as paid intelligence operatives, in most cases for the C.I.A. and at least a dozen other American reporters who, although unpaid, were counted by the C.I.A. among its operational "assets."

In addition, at least 12 full-time C.I.A. officers have worked abroad over the last 30 years while posing as employees of American-owned news organizations.

Of the more than 70 individuals identified by The Times as falling into one of these categories, several are dead and a score could not be located. But a number of the others confirmed their involvement, and several spoke freely about their experiences, though nearly all requested that their names not be used.

"I want to live over here in a country that I like without having to worry about getting a bomb through my window," said one man, a former correspondent for ABC News who worked for the C.I.A. in the 1950's.

At ABC, William Sheehan, a senior vice president, has said that the network is "satisfied there was no one on our staff in such a dual role."

All of those interviewed, like one man who had been a Time stringer in Rome, insisted that they had been able, though in some cases at psychological cost to themselves, to maintain a separation between their intelligence work and their journalistic careers.

None said that the C.I.A. had ever encouraged them to slant their dispatches to suit its purposes or to compromise themselves journalistically in any other way.

Some expressed fear that publicity would cost them their jobs or make future employment more difficult. The C.I.A. made no financial provision to lessen the shock of separation when it terminated relations with the last of its reporter-agents last year, and one of them, until recently a CBS reporter in Europe, is wrapping packages in a Florida department store.

The Cold War Climate

Several of the journalists and C.I.A. officials interviewed made the point that during the height of the Cold War it was acceptable to cooperate with the agency in ways that both the C.I.A. and the journalistic community now deem inappropriate.

"The thing to do was to cooperate," said one retired intelligence officer. "I guess that looks strange in 1977. But cooperation didn't look strange then."

Earlier this month, the C.I.A. made public a new executive order proscribing, except with the explicit approval of the Director of Central Intelligence, any paid or unpaid operational relationships with reporters for general circulation American news organizations.

The agency's long-standing relationship with American journalists was first called to public attention in 1973, when William E. Colby, then the Director of Central Intelligence, provided reporters in Washington with some of the details on a background basis.

ers that in some parts of the world American journalists, like those of most other countries, have always been suspected of serving as intelligence operatives on the side.

But one correspondent cabled from India that "a rather new practice among some of us is to avoid public contacts with known C.I.A. people." Such contacts, he wrote, "might only confirm suspicions."

In all, the three-month investigation by The Times found that at least 22 American news organizations had employed, though sometimes only on a casual basis, American journalists who were also working for the C.I.A. In a few instances the organizations were aware of the C.I.A. connection, but most of them appear not to have been.